N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868). The military clearly places the blame for starting hostilities on the Warm Springs Agency physician: "The General commanding believes it was the conduct of Dr. Fitch last spring in attacking the Snakes with a party of the reservation Indians that excited the Snakes into the subsequent attack upon the agency.... A continuation of such conduct...by Agent Dennison will lead...to a border war...." (ibid., Letters Received, A. Pleasanton to E. R. Geary, Ft. Vancouver, W. T., Oct. 15, 1859); Capt. H. D. Wallen also calls the same raid "retaliatory" (ibid., Wallen to E. R. Geary, Ft. Vancouver, W. T., Dec. 10, 1859), but Indian Agent G. H. Abbott, who succeeded Dennison, had another explanation (ibid., Abbott to E. R. Geary, Warm Springs, Ore., Jan. 28, 1860).

Be this as it may, the temper of the Deschutes Snakes changed very quickly, some time in 1859. In his annual report for that year Dennison states that the Warm Springs Reservation had "one great drawback," namely, "the frequent attacks of the Snake Indians who live on the western slope of the Blue Mountains, directly opposite the reservation on the eastern side of the Des Chutes river. These attacks are generally made in the night time, for the purpose of stealing stock; but several of the friendly [Warm Springs] Indians, while out herding their stock, have been fired upon and wounded by the Snakes, and some of them killed.... The Snakes having made several attempts to run off the horses and cattle belonging to the [Indian] department, and threatened to burn the agency buildings and fences, I made application to the Commander of the Military Department of Oregon General W. S. Harney for a force sufficient to protect the public property" (RCIA 1859 [CDS #1023] p. 801). Contrast this with Dennison's report on his January, 1859 visit to Weahweah's camp (fn. 141).

It is in the year 1859 that references to Panai'na start.

152. See fns. 141, 142. Weawewa's name is written variously; there is no phonetic transcription of it that I know of.

153. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868; Wallen, Affairs in Oregon.

Superintendent A. B. Meacham, who succeeded Huntington, states that "many years" prior to 1869 Weawewa had been a captive at Warm Springs, and had learned to speak Chinook jargon and some "Boston" (English) (Meacham, Wigwam, p. 226).

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protecting and treating patients diagnosed as "infected by peyote" or some illness sent by a "peyote boy." Members have also increased their belief in sorcery through personal interpretations of their own hallucinations. Seven members thought their visions were of individuals causing sickness and death, and fellow converts believed these interpretations. Although peyotists usually thought of opponents as witches, one inactive believer was so branded. This came to light when one of Willie Smokey's friends finally agreed to name publicly the persons who had accused him of causing the death of one member and the illness of another through use of "devil power." Miss Bowler, superintendent of the Carson Agency, invited me to the conference at which accused, accusers, witnesses, and a "victim" were present. The witness said Sam Dick had charged Willie Smokey with witching in a meeting attended by Ben. Sam insisted he was being falsely accused, "just like Jesus was," that he loved his cousin Willie Smokey and always prayed for him. Ben denied teaching or believing that anyone could harm anyone else or that such was part of the peyote religion. He admitted, however, that such beliefs existed, even among peyotists, attributing their presence to weakness; maintained that he preached that all should be brothers. Miss Bowler, nevertheless, charged him with full responsibility to correct specifically and immediately his followers' wrong ideas.[a] A danger in such situations is that some fanatic might decide to shoot the accused person, for old Washo culture contains both the pattern for witches and for killing them in revenge or for safety."

A few converts accuse fellow members of evil use of individual powers, which are said to be retained by partial use or misuse of peyote. In visions Dewey Charles (P,8) saw some old Indians who had falsely joined peyotism trying to kill younger Indians, especially "lighter-colored ones." Sam Dick accuses Jim Street, and likewise several accuse Sam Dick.

In spite of some personal jealousies, Washo-Paiute active peyotists form a closely united minority. Increased travel throughout the area of distribution has taken place. Where formerly the gambling ground was the scene of nearly all social contact, peyotists now visit each other in their homes and gather at night to learn and practice the special peyote songs, united by their new ideology and by the resentment of outsiders toward it. At Leevining, near Mono Lake, converts built a new settlement away from their neighbors and near the highway where winter snows would not keep them from meetings. Several families who formerly were not friendly have united in this group.

To many members the cult represents the return to a real native faith, containing the teachings of all religions in an understandable Indian form. Indian foods--acorn mush, piñon-nut mush, jack rabbit, fish—are considered preferable for religious meals; consequently, there has been increased use of old Indian foods by peyotists, and some young people have tasted this aboriginal fare for the first time.[b]

Since Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo attend meetings together, English is the principal language spoken, and several desire to improve their English so their prayers will "sound good." Sam Dick affirms he hardly spoke English until he joined the cult.[c] This close association of Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo is new, for

[a] Opler reports (1936, 166) bloody feuds and reprisals arising from witchcraft among Mescalero peyotists, which Indians asked Agency officials to stop.

[b] Lowie, 1939, 318–321.

[c] Practices comparable to the increased use of aboriginal food, visiting, and song practices among the Washo-Paiute were not found in the literature, but from my own experience I know all were stimulated by peyote among the Ute and Goshute.

[d] La Barre mentions (p. 113) the "use of English as a lingua Franca," facilitating the spread of peyote.

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usually the same. Before chewing, the buttons are lined up on the hand, and a silent prayer is offered "through them." After each is masticated, it is spit into the hands and formed into a ball. While resting on the open palm, this pellet is motioned toward the fire, then thrown into the mouth. The hand remains before the mouth a moment, then is passed back over the forehead and hair. The throat and chest are rubbed with a downward motion and patted. After the peyote is swallowed, expectorating into the hand and rubbing saliva over the head are common. Frequently, Ben Lancaster and Sam Dick chew hard peyote buttons and form them into pellets for others to swallow, especially the sick, a curing prayer being offered and cedar smoke being fanned over the patient.

The drumming and singing continue, but anyone eating peyote stops the drum's progress. No one is allowed to pass between the altar and a person eating peyote or praying. Oral prayers are made through a cigarette, usually part sage, rolled by the chief, and lighted from the fire stick. Crying is common during prayers, which are given in Washo, Paiute, Shoshone, or English. The leaders pray in English, and English phrases are incorporated into Indian prayers. Singing and drumming continue during the prayers, which usually end at a moment of quiet while drum and staff are passed.

At dawn the chief recalls the drum and staff, and sends the host's wife or another woman, often his own wife, to get the water and food for the peyote breakfast. As soon as the fire chief has pushed the ash crescent toward the sand half-moon, filling its concave side, arranged the fire, and cleaned the altar and the ground around it, he also leaves to assist. When the food is at the door, the chief starts the final series of songs, the food and water being aligned between fire stick and door after his first song. The woman who brought the food kneels upon a blanket east of the last vessel. The last three songs completed, all paraphernalia are spread on handkerchiefs and scarfs, the tips of all feathers pointing toward their owner's left. Near the north end of the crescent on his altar cloth, the chief places staff, feathers, gourd, cedar bag, drum, and drumstick.

The cedarman sprinkles cedar on the fire, and the kneeling woman, by extending her arms and cupping her hands, draws its smoke to her chest and to the food. The chief, in the meantime, makes a sage-and-tobacco cigarette, which is carried to the woman by the cedarman, who also hands her the fire stick. Her prayer is one of the longest of the meeting. This and the midnight blessing are the only prayers followed by one by the chief, who uses the same cigarette from which the chief drummer and cedarman have also taken four puffs. The chief's prayer varies from his opening prayer only with a blessing for food.

As the cedarman places the cigarette butt against the crescent, the woman spills water on the ground, passes the bucket to the nearest person south of the door, and takes her original place. The peyote breakfast passes around the group in the order of its arrangement between the fire and the woman: water, closest the fire, fruit, boiled rice, and meat.[a]

Water is again sprinkled over the paraphernalia and rubbed over the body,[b] and informal conversation begins. As soon as the food goes around, the vessels are placed on the ground as before; then taken out by the fire chief. At this point the chief removes the sage and eagle feathers from his staff, takes the chief peyote from the moon, and places some paraphernalia in his satchel. The drum is dismantled by the chief drummer, the kettle containing the charcoal-blackened water and the drumstick being circulated clockwise around the meeting, each Indian touching his head, limbs, chest, and any weak part of his body with drops of water carried by the stick. Some suck four drops of water from the end of the drumstick; many drink from the kettle. The staff follows the kettle for each member to hold as if sighting along it; then to grasp as if to sing, shaking the chief's rattle four times.

When the kettle reaches the chief drummer again, the fire chief collects the cigarette butts from the base of the crescent, burns them, pours any water remaining in the kettle over the sand crescent and between the crescent and the fire. This is the actual end of the meeting.

At one meeting, however, Ben carried on some "horseplay." Holding the staff as if it were a fiddle, he scraped across it with his drumstick and sang several songs. During the last, an extremely lively one, all stood, stretched, and went outside.

Everyone is instructed to return after the morning recess: at nine or ten o'clock. The chief is in his place flanked by the other officials. Before him, west of the sand crescent and resting on a silk handkerchief, is a beaded basket. All file by, drop a contribution in the basket, shake hands

[a] At Ben's meeting in Carson City, Nevada, the fruit was canned salad mixture and the meat was boiled hamburger balls; at Sam's meeting, near Mono Lake, California, canned peaches and boiled beef were served.

[b] In connection with this self-sprinkling, questionably considered a baptism, the following report of Dewey Charles (Paiute of Bridgeport) is interesting: Ben "threw away that old baptism for me and gave me a new one. One Sunday morning after meeting he prayed over me and sprinkled water on my head and said that was a real baptism in the peyote religion and was better than the one I had before. Jim Street is the only other member that I know Ben baptized."